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ABSTRACT

This study offers a demographic profile of the U.S. Cuban population, using data from the decennial census and current population surveys. Part one estimates the number of Cuban Americans and describes their geographic distribution nationwide. Part two compares the socioeconomic characteristics (age, gender, educational attainment, income, employment, nativity, year of immigration, and citizenship status) of Cuban Americans to that of Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans living on the U.S. mainland and compares Cubans to all Central Americans and South Americans aggregated together. Part three compares Cubans living in metropolitan Miami, Florida, to Cubans nationwide. Part four compares first generation immigrant Cuban Americans to second generation Cubans born in the United States with one or both parents born in Cuba. There were over 1.2 million Cuban Americans in the 2000 Census, making them the third largest component of the Hispanic population. About 84 percent of all Cuban Americans lived in Florida, New Jersey, California, and New York, with 650,000 Cubans in Miami-Dade County, Florida. The 2000 Census badly underestimated the populations of many other Hispanic groups nationwide and in Miami-Dade County. Cuban Americans' socioeconomic status improved during the 1990s. While Cuban Americans had higher socioeconomic and education levels than other Hispanic groups, they had lower SES than the total U.S. population. One-third of Cuban Americans were born in the United States. Second generation Cubans had higher average SES than the immigrant generation. (SM)

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A Demographic Profile of Cuban Americans

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The Cuban American National Council, Inc.
Miami, Florida

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Foreword

This study is the first analysis on the demography of Cuban Americans over a period of four decades.

It evaluates the preliminary results of the Census 2000 and provides a demographic profile of the Cuban population living in the United States. The first of its four parts estimates the number of Cuban Americans and describes their geographic distribution throughout the United States. The second compares the socioeconomic characteristics of Cuban Americans to the other two largest groups of Hispanics living in the United States: Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans living on the United States mainland. It also compares Cubans to all Central Americans and South Americans aggregated together. In the third section, Cubans living in the metropolitan area of Miami are compared to Cubans living in the rest of the United States. Finally, first generation immigrant Cuban Americans are compared to the second generation Cubans, who were born in the United States and had one or both of their parents born in Cuba.

The study's methodology uses a combination of decennial censuses data, current population surveys, and other authoritative sources.

Our decision to launch this project before the complete 2000 Census data becomes available was due to factors such as timeliness, adequacy of current data, and the opportunity to offer researchers and policy makers a bird's eye view of Cuban American demographic changes and tendencies since census data on this group became available.

Because of the need for extended notes on the study's methodology, we have separated the latter from the text analyzing the data. Likewise, the tables and graphs were placed at the end

of the paper in order to accommodate preferences for various degrees of detailed reading and consultation of data arrays.

We hope this Council publication will contribute to the understanding of Cubans in the United States.

Major Findings

1. There were more than 1.2 million Cuban Americans counted by the 2000 Census, making them the third largest component of the Hispanic population, behind Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans living in the United States.

2. About 84 percent of all Cuban Americans were located in four states: Florida, New Jersey, California, and New York. Florida contained 67 percent and 52 percent lived in Miami-Dade County. 75 percent of the Cubans lived in just four large metropolitan areas: Miami-Fort Lauderdale CMSA (56 percent), New York-New Jersey-Long Island CMSA (11 percent), Los Angeles-Riverside-Orange County CMSA (4 percent), and Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater MSA (3 percent).

3. The U.S. 2000 Census enumerated 650,000 Cubans living in Miami-Dade County. They represented 50 percent of all Hispanics living in Greater Miami and 29 percent of Miami-Dade County's total population.

4. It is clear that the 2000 Census badly underestimated the Dominican, Nicaraguan, Colombian, Honduran, Peruvian, Central American, and South American populations both in the United States and Miami-Dade County. In Miami-Dade County these underestimations were between 40 and 50 percent!

5. The socioeconomic situation of Cuban Americans improved during the 1990s. By the end of the 1990s they were better educated, had higher incomes, and had better-paying jobs than ten years earlier.

6. Cuban Americans have higher socioeconomic status (SES) than Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Central and South Americans living in the United States. The Cubans had higher educational levels, higher incomes, and better-paying jobs. Still, Cubans had lower SES than the total U.S. population.

7. Only one-third of Cubans living in the United States were born in the United States. Thus, the Cuban Americans are still largely an immigrant population. By way of comparison, almost two-thirds of the Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans living in the U.S. were born in the United States. The percentage of foreign born among the central and south Americans is almost identical to that of the Cubans.

8. Cuban Americans living in Miami have lower SES than those living dispersed through out the rest of the United States. There are at least two reasons for this. First, immigrants living in cultural enclaves like Miami are usually less assimilated than those living elsewhere because ethnic concentrations lessen the incentive to assimilate. Second, the Miami-Dade County Cuban enclave has attracted a disproportionate share of the Cuban immigrants, especially recently arriving immigrants and elderly persons. Recent immigrants take time to adjust to life in the United States and until they do adjust they tend to lower the average SES of Miami.

9. Second generation U.S. born Cubans have higher average SES than the immigrant generation of Cubans. In fact, the second generation Cuban Americans are very similar to the total U.S. population. This finding suggests that Cubans are assimilating into the American mainstream.

10. During the last four decades, data on Cuban Americans has reflected their positive social and economic adjustment to the U.S.

11. The socioeconomic conditions of Cuban Americans have improved during the decade of the 1990s. This is indicated in the later 1990s by their higher education levels, higher incomes, and better jobs when compared to these same characteristics for 1980.

12. Cuban Americans have higher average socioeconomic status than Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans living in the United States, and Central and South Americans.[1]

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[1]The reader should note that Central and South Americans are aggregated together because of limitations imposed by the size of the sample being used. Socioeconomic data for Hispanics were not available from the *2000 Population Census* at the time this manuscript was being written. However, a study conducted by the author in 1995, using 1990 Census data, determined that, on average, Central Americans had much lower socioeconomic status (SES) than South Americans. In fact, South Americans averaged higher SES than Cuban Americans in 1990. Thomas D. Boswell, *Hispanic National Groups in Metropolitan Miami*, Cuban American Policy Center, Cuban American National Council, Inc., 1995, Miami, Florida, p. 46.

13. Although Cuban Americans have made progress regarding their socioeconomic status, they still rank lower in terms of the education, income, and occupation levels than the average for all Americans.

14. About two-thirds of the Cuban Americans are foreign born, so they are still largely an immigrant population. Conversely, almost two-thirds of the Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans living in the U.S. were born in the United States. The percentage of foreign born among the Central and South Americans is almost identical to that of the Cubans.

15. The largest number of Cuban immigrants arrived in the United States during the decade of the 1960s. The average Cuban immigrant arrived more recently than the average Puerto Rican American born in Puerto Rico. However, the average Cuban immigrant has lived longer in the United States than the average immigrant from either Mexico of Central and South America. More than 70 percent of the Mexican and Central and South American immigrants arrived during the 1980s and 1990s.

A Demographic Profile of Cuban Americans

Hispanic Population Growth

Cuban Americans in this paper are defined as persons living in the United States who consider themselves to be Hispanics of Cuban origin as enumerated in either the decennial *U.S. Censuses of Population* or in the March *Current Population Surveys* conducted by the U.S. Bureau of the Census.[1]

The figures in Table 1 indicate the number of Hispanics and several Hispanic national groups living in the United States from 1970 to 2000. The percentage of the total U.S. population that is comprised of Hispanics has steadily risen during this 30-year period, from 4.5 percent in 1970 to 12.5 percent in 2000. While the total U.S. population grew by 13 percent between 1990 and 2000, the Latino[2] component grew by almost 58 percent. During the three-decade period between 1970 and 2000 the Hispanic population has grown steadily between 53 and 61 percent, which has been about 5 times the rate of the total U.S. population. By 2000 there were more than 35 million Hispanics living in America. Only three countries in Latin America

[1]In both the Population Censuses and the Current Population Surveys persons were asked to classify themselves according to their origin of descent. Thus, a person classified as being a Cuban American designated himself/herself as such.

[2]In this paper, the terms "Hispanic", "Latino", "Cuban", and "Cuban Americans" are used interchangeably.

have larger numbers of Spanish-speaking people.[3]

The 2000 Census was the first to show that the Hispanic population has caught up with the nation's African American population, so they are now tied as the United States' largest minority group. In 2000, 12.1 percent of all Americans classified themselves as being Black, and another .4 percent indicated they were a combination of black and some other race.[4] Thus, together Blacks and mixed Blacks total 12.5 percent, the same proportion as the Hispanic population in the United States.

Number and Geographic Distribution of Cuban Americans

Cubans have grown at a slightly lower rate than the Puerto Ricans since 1980, while the Mexican Americans have grown at a rate that is about 1.5 to 3 times that of the Cubans since 1970 (Table 2). The highest growth rates of the Cubans occurred during the 1960s and early 1970s, during the eras of the "Golden Exiles" and the "Freedom Flights."[5]

The figures for persons of "Other Hispanic Descent" shown in Tables 1 and 2 indicate that the 1980s and 1990s were the "take-off" decades of immigration to the United States from Latin American countries other than Mexico, Puerto Rico, and Cuba. Clearly, by the 1980s

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[3]These three countries are Mexico (99.6 million), Colombia (43.1 million), and Argentina (37.5 million). I am excluding Brazil from Latin America because its national language is Portuguese. Spain has a population of 39.8 million. Population Reference Bureau, *2001 World Population Data Sheet*, Washington, D.C., 2001.

[4]The *2000 Census of Population and Housing* was the first U.S. Census to allow people to classify themselves as being of more than one race. About 2.4 percent of the U.S. population classified themselves as being of mixed (more than one) races. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of Population and Housing*, Summary Tape File 1, 2002.

[5]The "Golden Exile" phase of Cuban immigration to the U.S. lasted from 1959 to 1962, and the "Freedom Flights" lasted from 1965 until 1973. About 215,000 Cubans arrived during the "Golden Exile" phase and almost 300,000 arrived during the "Freedom Flights." Thomas D. Boswell and James R. Curtis, *The Cuban-American Experience, Culture, Images, and Perspectives* (Totowa, New Jersey: Rowman & Allanheld, 1984), pp. 38-60.

"other Hispanics" had discovered the benefits and ways of immigrating to America.

If Cuban Americans were evenly distributed around the United States, they would hardly be noticed, since they would represent only about four tenths of one percent of the country's total population. But immigrants from every country to the United States have always been concentrated in certain cities and states. The same is true for Cubans. Two-thirds of all Cuban Americans live in the state of Florida (Table 6). Eighty-four percent live in just four states, Florida, New Jersey, California, and New York (Figure 1). In fact, the Cuban population is even more concentrated than these state figures suggest because they tend to be especially concentrated in specific metropolitan areas within these states (Figure 2). Fifty-six percent live in the Consolidated Metropolitan Statistical Area of Miami-Fort Lauderdale (Table 7). Seventy-five percent live in just four metropolitan areas, Miami-Fort Lauderdale CMSA, New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island CMSA, Los Angeles-Riverside-Orange County CMSA, and Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater MSA.[6] In fact, 52.4 percent of all Cuban Americans live in one county, Miami-Dade County. This is a remarkable degree of concentration, especially when it is realized that there are more than 4,000 counties in the United States. Within Miami-Dade County, Cubans are concentrated in particular neighborhoods (Figure 3). The densest concentrations are found in Hialeah, Little Havana, Westchester, and Sweetwater.

[6]CMSA = Consolidated Metropolitan Statistical Area and MSA = Metropolitan Statistical Area, as defined by the U.S. Bureau of the Census. These are large metropolitan areas that combine numerous cities and municipalities.

Socioeconomic Characteristics of Cuban Americans Compared to Other Hispanic Populations

In this section, socioeconomic comparisons for Cuban Americans are made at two levels. First, Cubans in 1990 and 1997-2000 are compared to determine the degree to which Cuban Americans changed during the decade of the 1990s. Second, comparisons are made between Cubans and Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Central and South Americans living in the U.S., as a way of providing a context for judging the socioeconomic status of Cuban Americans.

Age and Gender Comparisons

Age and gender are two of the most important characteristics of any population. They both affect consumer behavior, labor force characteristics, income levels, taxes paid, the need for schools, and the demand for health care. An older population is likely to have higher incomes because people who are older (but not elderly) generally make more than people who are younger. Older populations pay higher taxes because they have higher incomes. Younger populations generate a need for more schools and teachers, but they demand less health care and fewer social security benefits. Although this is slowly changing, women tend to have different jobs than men. Women usually earn less and pay lower taxes. Men and women have different consumer patterns.

The age data in Table 8 show that the Cuban American population is relatively old and is slowly aging even further. In 1980, the median age of Cubans living in the United States was almost 38 years. By the late 1990s the median age had increase to 40 years. For the United

States as a whole, the median age was six years younger at 34 years.[7] The median ages of Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and Central and South Americans are between 11 and 16 years younger than the average for Cuban Americans. The older age structure of Cubans is explained by their low fertility rates and age-selective migration. In 2000, the average woman in the United States was having 2.1 children during her fertile years.[8] The comparable number of children for Cubans, Mexicans, and Puerto Ricans were 1.9, 3.1, and 2.6, respectively. Populations with a higher percentage of children have lower average ages. Therefore, the lower fertility of Cuban American women tends to "age" their population. Immigration selectivity is also a factor that tends to "age" Cuban Americans because the Cuban government has been more willing to allow older (40 years and older) people to emigrate to the United States. For example, 26.4 percent of Cubans are 60 years of age or older (Table 8); while the comparable figure for the United States is 15.6 percent. The proportion of persons 60 years and older is much less among Mexican Americans (6.1 percent), Puerto Ricans (9.0 percent), and Central and South Americans (6.3 percent).

There is not much of a gender difference between Cuba Americans and the other Hispanic groups. Between 1980 and the later 1990s (Table 8) there has been a slight increase in the percentage of the Cubans living in the U.S. who are males. By the late 1990s, gender parity

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[7]The figures for the United States, although not shown in the tables of this paper, are also derived from the sample of four merged *Current Population Surveys* used in this study.

[8]U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, "Births: Final Data for 2000," *National Vital Statistics Reports*, Volume 50, Number 5, February 12, 2002, Table 9, Centers for Disease Control, National Center for Health Statistics, National Vital Statistics System. http://www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/nvsr/nvsr50/nvsr50_05.pdf.

almost had been reached, with males accounting for 49.8 percent of all Cuban Americans and females providing for the remaining 50.2 percent. For the entire population of the U.S. about 49 percent are males and 51 percent are females.

Education Levels and Income

When comparing education levels among populations it is standard procedure for demographers to consider only the population that is 25 years of age and older because these people have largely completed their education while many younger people are still in school. When compared to Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Central and South Americans it is clear that Cubans have higher educational achievement levels (Table 9). They have a lower percentage who have not graduated from high school and a higher proportion who have graduated from college. Furthermore, the educational situation has improved for Cubans during the decade of the 1990s. Between 1990 and the late 1990s, the percentage of Cubans over 25 years of age who had not graduated from high school dropped from more than 45 percent to less than 31 percent. Conversely, the percentage who graduated from college increased from about 16 percent to more than 22 percent. However, as well as Cubans have progressed, they still have not quite reached equality with the United States population as a whole. Among the entire U.S. population only about 17 percent of those over 25 years of age had not graduated from high school and almost 25 percent had graduated from college.

The higher education levels of Cubans, when compared to Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and the Central and South Americans, is reflected in their higher average incomes. All the measures of income shown in Table 9 illustrate this. Again, as well as Cubans have done,

they still have not yet reached economic parity with the total U.S. population. For example, whereas in the late 1990s the mean personal income for Cuban Americans was $17,237, for the entire U.S. population it was $28,985. For Cubans working full-time and year-round, the mean income was $36,193, while it was $40,645 for all Americans.[9]

Occupational Structure

The higher education and income levels of Cuban Americans, when compared to Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Central and South Americans, is also reflected in their occupational composition (Table 10). Cubans have a higher proportion (23.6 percent) of their labor force employed in the higher-paying managerial and professional occupations and a lower percentage (17.6 percent) employed in the lower-paying jobs as operators, fabricators, and handlers. Again, it is clear that the occupation situation improved for Cubans during the 1990s, just as it did for their education and income characteristics. By the later 1990s, a slightly higher percentage of Cuban Americans were employed in the managerial and professional occupations and a very significantly smaller percentage were employed as operators, fabricators, and handlers.

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[9]Although income figures for Miami-Dade County are presented in Table 13 for both 1990 and the 1997-2000 period, these figures are not strictly comparable because of the different methodologies used in conducting the *1990 Census of Population* and the *1997-2000 Current Population Surveys* and because of inflation. The 1990 figures cannot be reliably adjusted because of the different methods used in collecting this information. For instance, the **1990 Census** was conducted in April, whereas the *CPSs* used in this study were conducted in March of 1997, 1998, 1999, and 2000. I have averaged the incomes for the four *CPS* years, but the inflation rates for each of these years varied. Also, the *2000 Population Census* was conducted mainly through use of a mail-out questionnaire; whereas the *CPSs* were conducted by interviewers. Most of this information comes from a phone conversation on June 7, 2002 with Carmen Denavas-Walt, U.S. Bureau of the Census, (301) 457-3243.

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Nativity, Year of Immigration, and Citizenship Status

The Cuban Americans are still largely an immigrant population (Table 11). Almost two-thirds of the Cubans are foreign born, which is about the same for the Central and South Americans. Most Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans living in the U.S., on the other hand, have been born in the United States. This is an important distinction because assimilation is generally considered to be an inter-generational process, whereby the immigrant (foreign born) generation is least assimilated and subsequent generations are progressively more assimilated. Although the Cubans are still largely foreign born, they are less so today than they were in 1980, when almost four out of every five of them were born in Cuba.

Period of immigration is important because immigrants who have lived longer in the United States have had more time to adjust to American society and its economy.

The largest percentage of the first generation (immigrants) Cuban Americans arrived during the decade of the 1960s, during the periods of "Golden Exiles" and the "Freedom Flights," when more than 500,000 arrived from Cuba (see footnote 7 in this paper). Gradually, these people are dying as they age. That is why the percentage of Cuban immigrants who arrive during this period has been declining steadily since 1980 (Table 11). In 1980, almost six out of every ten Cuban immigrants had arrived during the 1960s. By the late 1990s this proportion had declined to about one-third.

When compared to the other Hispanic components in the United States, a smaller percentage (24.3 percent) of Cuban immigrants arrived during the 1990s than was the case for the foreign born Mexicans and Central and South Americans (39.7 and 36.8 percent, respectively).

On the other hand, a much smaller proportion of Puerto Ricans who were born in Puerto Rico[10] arrived during the 1990s (8.8 percent). While Cuban immigrants arrived disproportionately during the 1960s, Puerto Ricans arrived disproportionately during the 1940s and 1950s. On the other hand, more than 70 percent of both (1) the Mexican immigrants and (2) immigrants from Central and South America arrived after 1980. Thus, the Mexican and Central and South American immigrant populations tend to be on average the most recent arrivals, while the Puerto Ricans tend to be the earliest arrivals. Cuban Americans are in between these extremes. Thus, the average Cuban immigrant has had a longer time to adjust to American society than either the Mexican immigrants or those from Central and South America. Conversely, the Puerto Ricans have had the longest time to acclimate to U.S. mainland conditions.

Almost 57 percent of the Cuban immigrants living today in the United States are U.S. citizens, and this proportion has been increasing steadily since 1980, when the figure was only about 46 percent. A much smaller percentage of immigrants from Mexico and Central and South America have achieved U.S. citizenship, which is probably at least partly a reflection of the fact that a higher percentage of them are recent arrivals to the United States when compared to Cubans and Mexican Americans.

[10]Technically, Puerto Ricans born in Puerto Rico are not foreign born because all Puerto Ricans are born as U.S. citizens, regardless of where they are born. In this paper, we want to distinguish between those who were born in Puerto Rico and those born on the United States mainland.

Comparison of Cuban Americans Living In Miami-Dade County with Cubans Living in the Rest of the United States

This section compares the socioeconomic status (SES) of Cuban Americans living in Miami-Dade County with those living in the rest of the United States. Earlier in this paper it was noted that 52.4 percent of all Cuban Americans live in Miami-Dade County. Usually, ethnic groups in the United States have lower socioeconomic status in their areas of concentration and higher status where they are more dispersed. There are at least two reasons for this. First, ethnics tend to be either more acculturated or assimilated in areas where they are not concentrated. Dispersed ethnics have more of an incentive to learn English and to learn how to deal within the American economy. This principle is relevant for this paper because more acculturated ethnics tend to have higher SES. Second, areas of ethnic concentration normally attract a disproportionately large share of newly arrived immigrants. These people are just beginning to learn how to adjust to living in the American social and economic systems and they tend to be the least assimilated. Therefore, their incomes are normally lower than for immigrants who have lived longer in the United States or have been born here. Taking these thoughts into consideration, **it is hypothesized that Cuban Americans living outside of the Miami-Dade County cultural and economic enclave will have higher average SES than those living in Miami-Dade County.** To test this hypothesis, the variables used in this section are the same as those used in the section above comparing Cubans with Mexican American, Puerto Ricans, and Central and South Americans.

Age and Gender Comparisons

There is very little difference between the age and gender figures shown in Table 12 for Cubans living in Miami-Dade County and the rest of the United States. In fact, most of the differences displayed are so small that they can be accounted for by sampling error. When the average ages for Miami-Dade County are compared for 1990 and the 1997-2000 period there is again almost no difference. Gender-wise there again is virtually no difference. Therefore, the conclusion reached is that the age and gender structures of the Miami-Dade Cuban Americans are not significantly different from those of the Cubans living in the rest of the United States.

Education Levels, Income, and Occupational Structure

The data in Tables 13 and 14 clearly show that the socioeconomic conditions for Cubans living in Miami-Dade County have improved between 1990 and 1997-2000. Cubans in the later 1990s have higher education levels, higher incomes,[11] and better jobs than was the case in 1990. The data also show that there is a significant difference between Greater Miami's Cubans and those living in the rest of the United States (the dispersed Cubans). Those living in the rest of the U.S. have noticeably higher education levels, with a smaller percentage dropping out of high school and a larger percentage completing college. They also had higher incomes and better-paying jobs. Cubans living in Miami-Dade County had a lower percentage employed in the managerial and professional occupations and they had a larger proportion employed as operators, fabricators, and handlers. There is no question that the hypothesis stated earlier is correct: that

[11] Again, the reader should bear in mind that the income figures for 1990 and 1997-2000 are not strictly comparable. See footnote 15 in this paper.

Cubans dispersed outside of Greater Miami have higher SES than those living inside Miami-Dade County.

Nativity, Year of Immigration, and Citizenship Status

The figures in Table 15 help explain in two ways why Cuban Americans dispersed outside Greater Miami have higher SES. First, a much larger percentage of the Cubans living in Miami-Dade County are foreign born (immigrants). Usually, second generation ethnics have higher SES than their first generation immigrant parents because they have been able to take full advantage of the American educational and economic systems. In the next section of this paper we will test this thought specifically with respect to Cubans living in the United States.

Second, a larger proportion (48.5 percent) of the foreign born Cubans living in Miami-Dade County have immigrated recently (since 1980) than is the case for the Cubans living more dispersed outside of Miami (33.6 percent). This fits with the idea stated earlier in this paper that ethnic enclaves (like Miami for Cubans) are particularly attractive to new immigrants because of the "adjustment cushion" they provide to new arrivals. It is also relevant to note that the average "dispersed" Cuban has had more time to acclimate to living in the United States and this is reflected in his/her higher SES. In addition, a higher proportion of the "dispersed" Cubans are U.S. citizens, which in turn is probably a reflection of both their higher degree of assimilation and their longer average residence in the United States, since citizenship requires living in the United States a minimum of five years.

It is also worth noting that Cubans living in Miami-Dade County have slowly been developing a larger proportion of second generation of U.S. born (Table 15). In 1990, 80 percent

of the Cubans living in Greater Miami were foreign born. By the late 1990s this proportion had dropped somewhat to 75 percent. Furthermore, a larger percentage of the Cuban immigrants living in Miami have become U.S. citizens, rising five percentage points from 46 percent to 51 percent.

Comparison of First (Immigrants) and Second Generation Cuban Americans

Are Cubans assimilating into the American mainstream? One way of determining the answer to this question is to compare the SES characteristics of the first generation (immigrants) and second generation Cuban Americans. The second generation is comprised of those people who were born in the United States, but had one or both of their parents born in Cuba.[12] If the Cubans are assimilating, it is reasonable to hypothesize that their second generation will have a higher SES average than their first generation immigrant parents, one that will more closely approximate that of the United States population.

Age and Gender Comparisons

The age structures of the first and second generation Cuban Americans are very important for two reasons. First, they are very different; and second, these differences vitally affect their education, income, and occupation characteristics. The figures in Table 16 show that average age of Cuban immigrant generation is more than twice as old as the second generation Cubans.

[12]The total U.S. born Cuban American population will include some people who are not second generation Cubans living in the United States. For instance, some will be third and fourth generation Cuban Americans. Since the goal in this paper is to compare the first and second generation Cubans living in the United States, a program was written that specifically defined the second generation as persons who considered themselves to be of Cuban descent, but they were born in the United States and one or both of their parents were born in Cuba.

The median age numbers show that half of the Cuban immigrants are older than 51 years; whereas half the second generation are under 17 years of age. This is a gap of 31 years! It is a reasonable finding that the second generation is a lot younger than the first generation because the Cuban immigrants include most of the parents of the second generation Cuban Americans.[13] Also, since Cubans have been immigrating in large numbers to the U.S. for only a little more than four decades, the second generation is only now becoming a numerically-significant component of the Cuban American population.

The youthful average age of the second generation means that about half of its members are still either in elementary, middle, or high school, since they have not yet completed their educations. It also means that more than half of the second generation are not in the labor force, and therefore, they are not earning incomes. The members of the second generation that are in the labor force tend to be younger than the average age of the immigrant labor force and this also reduces the incomes of the second generation when compared to the immigrant generation. The youthful age structure of the second generation impacts also on their occupational structure because it means that fewer of them have had time to work their way up into management and professional occupations than would be the case if they were older.

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[13]Technically, the immigrant generation does not include all the parents of the second generation Cuban Americans and some of the immigrant generation are not parents of the second generation for three reasons. First, some of the parents of second generation have died, so they will not be included in the first generation enumerated by the *Current Population Surveys* used in this paper. Second, some of the immigrants have not had any children, so they are not the parents of anybody, let alone members of the second generation. Third, some of the parents of the second generation have been born in the U.S. because only one parent has to be foreign born for a person to be classified as being second generation American.

Education Levels, Income, and Occupational Structure

As in the other tables used in this paper, the education figures in Table 17 partially standardize for age by considering only persons 25 years and older, people who have largely completed their education. When this is done, it reduces the effects of age and it can clearly be seen that the second generation Cubans are much better educated than their immigrant parents. Only five percent of the second generation have not completed high school, compared to about one-third of their foreign born parents. In fact, the percentage for the second generation Cubans who have not completed high school is substantially less than the comparable figure (17 percent) for the entire U.S. population. Also, a phenomenal 43 percent of the second generation Cubans 25 years and older have completed college, which is much higher than the comparable figures for the immigrant Cubans (20 percent) and the entire U.S. population (25 percent). It is clear that the second generation Cubans are not only better educated than their immigrant parents, but they are also better educated than the United States population as a whole!

The income figures in Table 17 vividly illustrate the confounding effects of the different age structures of the immigrant Cubans and their second generation offspring. When considering the average personal income figures (for everybody, regardless of age) it looks like the immigrant generation Cubans are better off by far. Notice that the median personal income of the second generation Cubans is zero. This is because the average member of the second generation is a minor, attending school, and not earning an income. Once the income figures are standardized to include only persons working full-time and year round the picture changes dramatically. These figures show that the second generation Cubans have higher incomes than the foreign born

Cubans. These latter figures do not standardize fully for age because the labor force of the immigrants is significantly older than that of the second generation Cubans. Thus, despite the fact that older people normally make more money than when they were younger, the second generation Cubans who are working still have higher incomes that their immigrant parents. On the other hand, the second generation Cubans lag behind the average incomes for the United States labor force, where the mean income was $40,645 and the median was $30,538. This difference, however, is related to the lower average age of the second generation Cuban labor force when compared to the total U.S. labor force. When considering only the labor forces of persons aged 25 through 44 years of age, the earnings of the second generation Cubans are "at least comparable" to that of the U.S. labor force.[14]

Since the second generation Cubans earn more than their first generation immigrant parents even though they are much younger, the second generation Cubans must have higher occupational status than their parents. The figures in Table 18 show that this is clearly the case. Almost one-third of the employed second generation Cubans work in managerial or professional occupations, while the comparable figures for immigrant Cubans is about one-fifth. Conversely,

[14]The sample derived from the four CPS data files for 1997-2000 period allowed a comparison to be made between the mean and median incomes of the second generation Cubans in the 25-44 year age group working full-time and year-round and the total U.S. population. However, the sample for Cubans 25-44 years of age working full-time and year-round was too small to be statistically significant (n =172 persons). Nevertheless, mean and median incomes for this group were calculated to provide anecdotal, but not statistically significant, evidence of the incomes of the second generation Cubans. These mean and median incomes so calculated were $42,425 and $36,000, respectively. The comparable mean and median incomes for the total U.S. population, aged 25-44 years and working full-time and year-round, were $38,742 and $30250, respectively. Although the second generation Cuban sample incomes were substantially higher, we are not prepared to suggest that this is actually the case because of the small size of the Cuban sample. However, the difference is large enough that we feel confident that at the least we can say that the second generation Cuban incomes are not lower than those of the total U.S. population. To be safe, we say the incomes of the two groups are "at least comparable."

almost one-fifth of the immigrant generation is employed in low-paying jobs as operators, fabricators, and handlers, while the figure for the second generation Cubans is less than one-tenth. In fact, the second generation Cubans compare very favorably with the total U.S. labor force in terms of their occupational structure. For the U.S. labor force about 29 percent are employed in high-paying managerial and professional occupations, which is less than the 33 percent for second generation Cubans shown in Table 18. The U.S. labor force also has a higher percentage (17 percent) employed in the low-paying occupation class comprised of operators, fabricators, and handlers when compared to the second generation Cubans (8 percent). These occupational differences between the second generation Cubans and the U.S. labor force provide further evidence that the second generation Cubans are rapidly approaching the average SES for all Americans.

These comparisons have clearly shown that the second generation Cubans are better off than their immigrant parents generation in terms of their education levels, incomes, and the types of jobs they have. It is equally clear that the second generation is rapidly catching-up economically and socially with the rest of the U.S. population, if they have not already done so. The conclusion that most Cuban Americans are assimilating inter-generationally to the American mainstream is obvious.

Conclusions

This study has made a number of significant findings. Most of these update the findings of earlier studies of Cuban Americans by using more recent data from the late 1990s. They also

provide a preview of what might be expected to be found when the final results of the 2000 Census are published. This investigation evaluated the preliminary results of the *2000 Census of Population* enumeration and found that while the U.S. Bureau of the Census' estimations of the numbers of Cubans, Mexicans, and Puerto Ricans were reasonably accurate, there were serious errors in its estimations of the other specific Hispanic nationalities (e.g. Nicaraguans, Dominicans, Colombians, Ecuadorans, etc.). The significance of this finding is that while the 2000 Census results appear to be reasonably good estimations of the demographic characteristics of the Cubans, Mexicans, and Puerto Ricans, they may not correctly represent the socioeconomic characteristics of the other Hispanic nationalities if the under-representation of these groups do not represent random errors. Further study comparing the socioeconomic characteristics derived from results from the 2000 Census (when they become available) with results from other data sources such as the *Current Population Surveys* and the *American Community Surveys* are needed to determine whether or not the 2000 Census results can be trusted because we now know the 2000 Census cannot be trusted to correctly represent the numbers of the other specific Hispanic nationalities.

The fact that Cuban Americans are heavily concentrated in four states and four large metropolitan areas means that they are much more visible than they would be if they were evenly distributed throughout the United States. This concentration allows them to exercise more political and economic clout, particularly in the areas of their heaviest concentration (Florida and Miami-Dade County). However, it may also be true that ethnic enclaves slow down the

assimilation process. Although the benefits[15] and problems[16] of ethnic enclaves have been debated, they seem to be a fact of life for virtually all immigrants when they first arrive in the United States.

The socioeconomic conditions of the Cuban Americans have certainly improved during the 1990s. When compared to other Hispanics living in the United States, the average Cuban has a higher education level, higher income, and better job. On the other hand, Cuban Americans have not yet caught up with American averages, although it is clear they are making progress. The fact that the largest number of Cuban immigrants arrived in the United States during the 1960s means that they have had a longer time to adjust to the U.S. economy and society when compared to the average immigrant from Mexico and Central and South America. This has helped the Cuban immigrants achieve higher socioeconomic status than these other two groups of immigrants. But time spent in the United States is not the only factor affecting the achievements of Cuban Americans. If it was the only factor, then Puerto Ricans would have a higher average SES than the Cubans because the average Puerto Rican in-migrant[17] from Puerto Rico has been living on the U.S. mainland longer than the average Cuban. However, Cubans have considerably higher SES than the Puerto Ricans.

The progress made by Cubans, when compared to the other Hispanic nationalities studied

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[15]For a good explanation of the benefits derived from ethnic enclaves see: Alejandro Portes and Rubén Rumbaut, *Immigrant America* (Berkeley: University of California Press,1996), pp. 28-56.

[16]For an explanation of some of the disadvantages of ethnic enclaves see: George Borjas, *Heaven's Door: Immigration Policy and the American Economy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), pp. 161-173.

[17]Because Puerto Ricans are U.S. citizens, they are not technically immigrants. In-migrant is the proper term to use when referring to them.

in this paper, is even more remarkable when it is noted that two-thirds of all Cuban Americans were born in Cuba. Thus, they are still largely an immigrant population. This is a significant finding because most studies of other ethnic groups have found that the second generation of an ethnic group usually has been able to achieve higher socioeconomic status than that of their immigrant parents' generation. Thus, as the second generation increases in the future to become the numerically dominant component of the Cuban Americans, the socioeconomic status of Cubans should continue to rise.

The finding in this study that Cuban Americans living in Miami-Dade County have lower SES than those who are living more dispersed in other parts of the United States was not surprising because similar findings have been made in studies of other ethnic groups. New immigrants are especially attracted to ethnic enclaves because they help cushion the shock of adjusting to a new culture and economy. New immigrants take time to acclimate to their new cultural environment and until they do they usually draw down the average SES of the reception areas in which they at first concentrated. Therefore, it is significant that a greater percentage of the Miami-Dade County's Cubans are comprised of immigrants and a greater percentage of the immigrants living in Miami-Dade arrived more recently than those living in the rest of the United States.

The finding that second generation Cubans have higher SES than Cuban immigrants is especially significant because it portends a continuing bright future for Cuban Americans as the second generation grows and becomes increasingly prominent in the United States. The second generation Cubans compare very favorable to the U.S. population, especially in terms of their

education attainment levels and the types of jobs they have. Although the average income level of the second generation Cubans is not quite as high as that of the United States, this may be largely due to their more youthful age structure because second generation Cubans in the 25 through 44 age group have average incomes that are comparable to the rest of Americans similarly aged. In other words, there is considerable evidence to suggest that the second generation of Cubans have already caught-up with U.S. average SES.

All of the findings of this study clearly indicate that first and second generation Cuban Americans - particularly the latter - have adjusted very well to life in the United States.

It will be interesting to compare this data with the 2010 Census reflecting "special period arrivals", and to assess the demographic impact of post Castro-era immigrants from Cuba.

Tables

(1-18)

Table 1
Hispanic Origin Population Living in the United States
1970, 1980, 1990, and 2000

Categories	Numbers				Percentage Growths		
	1970	1980	1990	2000	1970-80	1980-90	1990-2000
Total Population:	203,211,926	226,545,805	248,709,873	281,421,906	11.5%	9.8%	13.2%
Hispanics	9,072,602	14,608,673	22,354,059	35,305,818	61.0%	53.0%	57.9%
Non-Hispanics	194,139,324	211,937,132	226,355,814	246,116,088	9.2%	6.8%	8.7%
Percent of Total Population Hispanic	4.5%	6.4%	9.0%	12.5%	NA	NA	NA
Hispanic Components by National Origin							
Mexican Descent	4,532,435	8,740,439	13,495,938	20,640,711	92.8%	54.4%	52.9%
Puerto Rican Descent	1,429,390	2,013,945	2,727,754	3,406,178	40.9%	35.4%	24.9%
Cuban Descent	544,600	803,226	1,043,932	1,241,685	47.5%	30.0%	18.9%
Other Hispanic Descent:	2,566,177	3,051,063	5,086,435	10,017,244	18.9%	66.7%	96.9%
Dominican Republic Descent	NA	NA	520,151*	764,945	NA	NA	47.1%
Central American Descent	NA	NA	1,323,830*	1,686,937	NA	NA	24.4%
South American Descent	NA	NA	1,035,602*	1,353,562	NA	NA	30.7%
Rest of Hispanics	NA	NA	1,922,286*	6,211,800	NA	NA	223.1%

NA = Not Available or Not Applicable.
*These figures do not total to the "Other Hispanic" category because they are estimated from sample data.
Sources: Figures for 1970 through 1990 come from: Thomas D. Boswell, *A Demographic Profile of Cuban Americans* (Miami: Cuban American National Council, 1994), p. 7 and figures for 2000 come from: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *2000 Census of Population and Housing* (Washington, D.C.: American FactFinder, 2002), http://factfinder.census.gov.

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Table 2
Percentage Components of the Hispanic Population in the United States 1970, 1980, 1990, and 2000

Hispanic Component	1970	1980	1990	2000
Mexican Descent	49.9	59.8	60.3	58.5
Puerto Rican Descent	15.8	13.8	12.2	9.6
Cuban Descent	6.0	5.5	4.7	3.5
Other Hispanic	28.3	20.9	22.8	28.4
Dominican Descent	NA	NA	2.3*	2.2
Central American Descent	NA	NA	5.9*	4.8
South American Descent	NA	NA	4.6*	3.8
Rest of Hispanics	NA	NA	8.6*	17.6
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

NA = Not Available.
*These figures do not total to the "Other Hispanic" category because they are estimated from sample data.
Sources: Figures for 1970 through 1990 come from: Thomas D. Boswell, *A Demographic Profile of Cuban Americans* (Miami: Cuban American National Council, 1994), p. 7 and figures for 2000 come from: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *2000 Census of Population and Housing* (Washington, D.C.: American FactFinder, 2002), http://factfinder.census.gov.

Table 3
Hispanic Origin Estimates for the United States:
Comparison of 2000 Census Figures and Louis Mumford Center Estimates for 2000

Categories	2000 Census Numbers	Mumford 2000 Numbers	Mumford Estimates - 2000 Census Numbers	Percentage Differences Between Mumford and 2000 Census Figures	Percentage Distribution Using Mumford Estimates	Percentage Growth for 1990-2000 Using Mumford Estimates for 2000
All Hispanics	35,305,818	35,305,818	0	0%	100.0%	57.9%
Mexican Descent	20,640,711	23,060,224	2,419,513	11.7%	65.3%	70.9%
Puerto Rican Descent	3,406,178	3,640,460	234,282	6.9%	10.3%	33.5%
Cuban Descent	1,241,685	1,315,346	73,661	5.9%	3.7%	26.0%
Dominican Descent	764,945	1,121,257	356,312	46.6%	3.2%	115.6%
Central American	1,686,937	2,863,063	1,176,126	69.7	8.1%	116.3%
South American	1,353,562	2,169,669	816,107	60.3%	6.1%	109.5%
Rest of Hispanics	6,211,800	1,135,799	-5,076,001	-81.7%	3.3%	-40.9%

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *2000 Census of Population and Housing* (Washington, D.C.: American FactFinder, 2002), http://factfinder.census.gov and John R. Logan, "The New Latinos: Who They Are, Where They Are," Louis Mumford Center for Comparative Urban and Regional Research, SUNY at Albany, September 10, 2001 and www.Albany.edu/Mumford/Census.

Table 4
Hispanic National Groups in Miami-Dade County
1990 and 2000

Hispanic National Groups	Numbers 1990	Percentages 1990	Numbers 2000	Percentages 2000	Numeric Growth 1990-2000	Percentage Growth 1990-2000
Cuban Descent	561,868	59.2	650,601	50.4	88,733	15.8
Puerto Rican Descent	68,634	7.2	80,327	6.2	11,693	17.0
Colombian Descent	53,582	5.6	70,066	5.4	16,484	30.8
Nicaraguan Descent	74,244	7.8	69,257	5.4	-4,987	-6.7
Mexican Descent	23,193	2.4	38,095	2.9	14,902	64.3
Dominican Descent	23,475	2.5	36,454	2.8	12,979	55.3
Honduran Descent	18,102	1.9	26,829	2.1	8,727	48.2
Peruvian Descent	16,452	1.7	23,327	1.8	6,875	41.8
Other Central American Descent	27,188	2.9	32,817	2.5	5,629	20.7
Other South American Descent	38,464	4.1	60,955	4.7	22,491	58.5
Other Hispanics (not elsewhere classified)	44,498	4.7	203,009	15.8	158,511	356.2
Totals for Hispanics	949,700	49.0 % of total population	1,291,737	57.3 % of total population	342,037	36.0
Non-Hispanics	987,394	51.0% of total population	961,625	42.7% of total population	-25,769	-2.6
Grand Totals	1,937,094	100.0%	2,253,362	100.0%	316,268	16.3

Sources: Figures for 1990 come from: John R. Logan, Director, Louis Mumford Center for Comparative Urban and Regional Research, http://Logan3.edu/HispanicPopData/5000msa.htm and figures for 2000 come from: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *2000Census of Population and Housing* (Washington, D.C., American FactFinder, 2002), http://factfinder.census.gov.

Table 5
Hispanic Origin Estimates for Miami-Dade County:
Comparison of 2000 Census Figures and Louis Mumford Center Estimates for 2000

Categories	2000 Census Numbers	Mumford 2000 Numbers	Mumford Estimates - 2000 Census Numbers	Percentage Differences Between Mumford and 2000 Census Figures	Percentage Distribution Using Mumford Estimates	Percentage Growth for 1990-2000 Using Mumford Estimates for 2000
Cuban Descent	650,601	681,032	30,431	4.7	52.7	21.2
Puerto Rican Descent	80,327	84,197	3,870	4.8	6.5	22.7
Colombian Descent	70,066	102,264	32,198	46.0	7.9	90.9
Nicaraguan Descent	69,257	101,691	32,434	46.8	7.9	37.0
Mexican Descent	38,095	39,802	1,707	4.5	3.1	71.6
Dominican Descent	36,454	53,940	17,486	48.0	4.2	129.8
Honduran Descent	26,829	39,563	12,734	47.5	3.1	118.6
Peruvian Descent	23,327	34,003	10,676	45.8	2.6	106.7
Other Central American Descent	32,817	47,804	14,987	45.7	3.7	75.8
Other South American Descent	60,955	88,288	27,333	44.8	6.8	129.5
Other Hispanics (not elsewhere classified)	203,009	19,153	-183,856	-90.6	1.5	-57.0
Totals for Hispanics	1,291,737	1,291,737	0	0.0	57.3% of total population	36.0
Non-Hispanics	961,625	961,625	0	0.0	42.7% of total population	-2.6
Grand Totals	2,253,362	2,253,362	0	0.0	100.0	16.3

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *2000 Census of Population and Housing* (Washington, D.C.: American FactFinder, 2002), http://factfinder.census.gov and John R. Logan, "The New Latinos: Who They Are, Where They Are," Louis Mumford Center for Comparative Urban and Regional Research, SUNY at Albany, September 10, 2001 and www.Albany.edu/Mumford/Census.

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Table 6
Distribution of Cuban Americans by States
1990 and 2000

States	2000		1990		2000-1990	
	Number	Percentages	Number	Percentages	Numeric Increase	Percentage Increase
Florida	833,120	67.1	675,786	64.2	157,334	23.3
New Jersey	77,337	6.2	87,085	8.3	-9,748	-11.2
California	72,286	5.8	75,034	7.1	-2,748	-3.7
New York	62,590	5.0	77,016	7.3	-14,426	-18.7
Texas	25,705	2.1	19,998	1.9	5,707	28.5
Illinois	18,438	1.5	17,525	1.7	913	5.2
Georgia	12,536	1.0	7,945	0.8	4,591	57.8
Nevada	11,498	0.9	6,450	0.6	5,048	78.3
Pennsylvania	10,363	0.8	7,390	0.7	2,973	40.2
Massachusetts	8,867	0.7	7,621	0.7	1,246	16.3
Louisiana	8,448	0.7	7,757	0.7	691	8.9
Virginia	8,332	0.7	6,866	0.7	1,466	21.4
North Carolina	7,389	0.6	3,754	0.4	3,635	96.8
Michigan	7,219	0.6	4,762	0.5	2,457	51.6
Connecticut	7,101	0.6	6,276	0.6	825	13.1
Maryland	6,754	0.5	6,027	0.6	727	12.1
Arizona	5,272	0.4	2,435	0.2	2,837	116.5
Ohio	5,152	0.4	3,211	0.3	1,941	60.4
Rest of U.S.	53,278	4.4	30,259	2.7	23,019	76.1
Totals	1,241,685	100.0	1,053,197	100.0	188,488	17.9

*The data in this table for 1990 come from a 17% sample, so they do not exactly total to the 100 percent count figure of 1,043,932. The error is 0.9 percent.
Sources: Figures for 1990 come from: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1990 *Census of Population and Housing*, "Social and Economic Characteristics, United States," 1990 CP-2-1, 1993, Table 173, pp. 359-366 and figures for 2000 come from: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *2000 Census of Population and Housing*, (Washington, D.C.: American FactFinder, 2002, http://factfinder.census.gov).

Table 7
Distribution of Cuban Americans by Metropolitan Areas
1990 and 2000

Metropolitan Areas	2000		1990		2000-1990	
	Number	Percentages of All Cuban Americans	Number	Percentages of All Cuban Americans	Numeric Increase	Percentage Increase
Miami-Ft. Lauderdale CMSA	701,512	56.5	586,479	56.2	115,033	19.6
New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island CMSA	134,973	10.9	159,239	15.3	-24,266	-15.2
Los Angeles-Riverside-Orange County CMSA	53,839	4.3	60,302	5.8	-6,463	-10.7
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater MSA	41,602	3.4	33,933	3.3	7,669	22.6
West Palm Beach-Boca Raton MSA	25,386	2.0	17,315	1.7	8,071	46.6
Orlando MSA	18,797	1.5	10,090	1.0	8,707	86.3
Chicago-Gary-Kenosha CMSA	17,251	1.4	16,990	1.6	261	1.5
Washington, D.C.-Baltimore CMSA	11,835	1.0	9,206•	0.9	2,629	28.6
Las Vegas MSA	11,121	0.9	6,122	0.6	4,999	81.7
Houston-Galveston-Brazoria CMSA	10,170	0.8	8,884	0.9	1,286	14.5
Atlanta MSA	9,206	0.7	5,987	0.6	3,219	53.8
San Francisco-Oakland-San Jose CMSA	8,980	0.7	8,025	0.7	955	11.9
Rest of the United States	197,013	15.9	121,360	11.4	75,653	62.3
Totals	1,241,685	100.0	1,043,932	100.0	197,753	18.9

MSA = Metropolitan Statistical Area CMSA = Consolidated Metropolitan Statistical Area • Washington D.C. MSA only (does not include Baltimore MSA)
Sources: Figures for 1990 come from: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1990 *Census of Population and Housing* (Washington, D.C: 1992) and figures for 2000 come from: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *2000 Census of Population and Housing* (Washington, D.C.: American FactFinder, 2002, http://factfinder.census.gov).

Table 8
Age and Sex Composition of Cuban Americans in the United States
1980, 1990, and 1997-2000*
(Percentages)

Age Groups	1980	1990	1997-2000
0-9 Years	11.4	10.3	11.1
10-19 Years	13.0	10.6	10.4
20-29 Years	15.6	15.7	10.0
30-39 Years	11.3	14.6	17.9
40-49 Years	14.7	12.4	13.2
50-59 Years	16.2	13.3	11.0
60-69 Years	10.3	12.4	13.1
70 Years & Older	7.5	10.7	13.3
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean and Median Ages (Years)			
Mean Age (Years)	NA	39.8	41.2
Median Age (Years)	37.7	39.0	40.0
Sex Composition			
% Male	47.6	48.6	49.8
% Female	52.4	51.4	50.2

Mean Ages: Mexican Americans (26.1 Years), Puerto Ricans in U.S. (29.2 Years), and Central and South Americans in U.S. (29.4 Years)
Median Ages: Mexican Americans (24.0 Years), Puerto Ricans in U.S. (27.0 Years), and Central and South American in U.S. (29.0 Years)
Percentage Male: Mexican Americans (51.7%), Puerto Ricans in U.S. (48.1%), and Central and South Americans in U.S. (48.8%)
NA = Not Available.
The figures for 1997-2000 are averages for this period derived from four *Current Population Surveys*.
Sources: Figures for 1990 come from: Thomas D. Boswell, *A Demographic Profile of Cuban Americans* (Miami: Cuban American National Council, 1994), p. 20 and figures for 1997-2000 come from: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Surveys for March 1997, 1998, 1999, and 2000* (Washington, D.C., March, 1998, 1999, 2000, and 2001).

Table 9
Educational Attainment Levels and Average Incomes of Hispanic Groups in the United States: 1990 and 1997-2000
(Percentages)

Characteristics	1990 Cuban Americans*	1997-2000			
		Cuban Americans	Mexican Americans	Puerto Ricans Living in U.S.	Central & South Americans in U.S.
Educational Attainment Levels, Persons 25 Years and Older (Percentages)					
Less than High School Graduate	45.5	30.9	50.6	36.7	35.9
High School Graduate, No B.A.	38.9	46.6	42.2	51.6	47.2
B.A. or Higher	15.6	22.5	7.2	11.7	16.0
Average Personal Incomes (All Persons)					
Median Incomes	$6,996*	$8,318	$1,980	$4,840	$6,000
Mean Incomes	$12,921*	$17,273	$9,819	$11,827	$12,713
Average Personal Incomes for Persons Woking Full-Time and Year Round					
Median Incomes	NA	$27,000	$20,000	$25,010	$20,000
Mean Incomes	NA	$36,193	$25,488	$31,057	$27,958

*The income figures for 1990 and the 1997-2000 period are not strictly comparable because of the different methodologies used in the conducting the *1990 Census* and the *1997-2000 Current Population Surveys* and because of inflation during this period of time.
NA = Not Available.
Note: The income figures from the 1990 Census are for 1989.
The figures for 1997-2000 are averages for this period derived from four March *Current Population Surveys*.
Sources: Figures for 1990 come from: Thomas D. Boswell, *A Demographic Profile of Cuban Americans* (Miami: Cuban American National Council, 1994), pp. 22 and 28 and U.S. Bureau of the Census, *1990 Census of Population and Housing*, "Public Use Microdata Sample (5%)" (Washington, D.C., 1993) and figures for 1997-2000 come from: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Surveys for March 1997, 1998, 1999, and 2000* (Washington, D.C., averaged for four years: 1998, 1999, 2000, and 2001).

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Table 10
Occupation Groups – Comparisons Between Cuban Americans, Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans in the U.S., and Central and South Americans in the U.S. 1997-2000 and Cubans for 1980

Major Occupation Groups for the Civilian Labor Force 16 Years and Older	1990 Cuban Americans	1997-2000			
		Cuban Americans	Mexican Americans	Puerto Ricans Living in U.S.	Central and South Americans in the U.S.
Managerial and Professional	20.4	23.6	11.5	17.1	15.4
Technical, Sales, and Administrative Support	33.4	33.1	21.7	32.0	22.9
Service	14.9	25.7	34.1	29.9	37.4
Operators, Fabricators, and Handlers (Including Farmers)	31.3	17.6	32.7	21.0	24.3
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Figures for 1990 come from: Thomas D. Boswell, *A Demographic Profile of Cuban Americans* (Miami: Cuban American National Council, 1994), p. 28 and data for 1997-2000 come from U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Surveys*, March 1997-2000, Washington, D.C., averaged for four years.

Table 11
Nativity, Year of Immigration, and Citizenship Status -- Comparisons Between Cuban Americans, Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Central and South Americans in the U.S. 1997-2000 (Percentages)

Characteristics	1980 Cubans	1990 Cuban Americans	1997-2000			
			Cuban Americans	Mexican Americans	Puerto Ricans Living in U.S.	Central and South Americans in U.S.
Born in the United States	21.9	27.5	32.2	64.0	60.0	32.9
Foreign Born (for Puerto Ricans, % born in P.R.)	78.1	72.5	67.8	36.0	40.0	67.1
Periods of Immigration for Foreign Born (or Puerto Rican Born)						
1990 to 2000*	NA	NA	24.3	39.7	8.8	36.8
1980 to 1989	NA	27.2	18.2	31.4	19.0	39.8
1970 to 1979	25.8	18.2	14.4	19.1	16.6	14.0
1960 to 1969	59.4	45.9	36.2	6.2	12.9	7.8
1950 to 1959	11.3	6.5	5.2	2.5	20.2	1.3
Before 1950	3.5	2.2	1.7	1.1	22.5	.3
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100
Citizenship Status of Foreign Born						
Foreign Born, U.S. Citizen by Naturalization	45.7	50.0	56.9	19.5	NA	26.8
Foreign Born, Not U.S. Citizen	54.3	50.0	43.1	80.5	NA	73.2
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

*The figures for immigration for the 1990 to 2000 period are under-estimates of the number who actually immigrated during the 1990s because these figures include data from the *Current Population Surveys* for four years, three of which were before 2000 (1997-1999).

NA = Not Applicable

Source: Figures for 1990 come from: Thomas D. Boswell, *A Demographic Profile of Cuban Americans* (Miami: Cuban American National Council, 1994), p. 17 and data for 1997-2000 come from U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Surveys*, March, 1997-2000, Washington, D.C., averaged for four years

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Table 12
Age and Sex Composition Comparisons Between Cuban Americans Living In Miami-Dade County in 1990 and 1997-2000 and Cuban Americans Living in the Rest of the United States 1997-2000

Age Groups (Years)	1990 Cubans Americans in Miami-Dade County	1997-2000	
		Cuban Americans in Miami-Dade County	Cuban Americans in Rest of the United States
Less than 10 years	9.2	11.8	10.3
10-19 Years	10.1	10.3	10.5
20-29 Years	14.0	10.1	10.0
30-39 Years	13.8	16.1	20.2
40-49 Years	12.8	12.4	14.0
50-59 Years	14.6	12.8	8.8
60-69 Years	12.9	12.8	13.3
70 Years and Older	12.6	13.7	12.9
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean and Median Ages (Years)			
Means	42.0	41.4	40.9
Medians	NA	41.0	39.0
Sex Composition (Percentages)			
Percent Male	48.0	49.2	50.6
Percent Female	52.0	50.8	49.4

NA = Not Available
Source: Figures for 1990 come from: Thomas D. Boswell, *Hispanic National Groups in Metropolitan Miami* (Miami: Cuban American National Council, 199), pp. 21 and 23 and data for 1997-2000 come from U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Surveys*, March, 1997-2000, Washington, D.C., averaged for four years.

Table 13
Education and Income Comparisons Between
Cuban Americans Living In Miami-Dade County in 1990 and 1997-2000 and
Cuban Americans Living in the Rest of the United States
1997-2000

Characteristics	1990 Cuban Americans in Miami-Dade County	1997-2000	
		Cuban Americans in Miami-Dade County	Cuban Americans in Rest of the United States
Educational Attainment Levels, Persons 25 Years and Older (Percentages)			
Not a High School Graduate	48.3	36.0	24.9
High School Graduate but No B.A.	38.1	44.5	49.1
B.A. Degree or Higher	13.6	19.5	26.0
Average Personal Incomes (All Persons)			
Means	$12,137*	$14,928	$20,085
Medians	$6,321*	$7,126	$10,000
Average Personal Incomes for Persons Working Full-Time and Year Round			
Means	NA	$31,458	$41,501
Medians	NA	$22,000	$31,526

*The income figures for 1990 and the 1997-2000 period are not strictly comparable because of the different methodologies used in the conducting the *1990 Census* and the *1997-2000 Current Population Surveys* and because of inflation during this period of time.
NA = Not Available
Note: Income figures from the 1990 Census are for 1989.
Source: Figures for 1990 come from: Thomas D. Boswell, *Hispanic National Groups in Metropolitan Miami* (Miami: Cuban American National Council, 199), pp. 28 and 35 and data for 1997-2000 come from U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Surveys*, March 1997-2000, Washington, D.C., averaged for four years.

Table 14
Occupation Groups and Labor Force Status -- Comparisons Between Cuban Americans Living In Miami-Dade County in 1990 and 1997-2000 and Cuban Americans Living in the Rest of the United States 1997-2000 (Percentages)

Major Occupation Groups for the Civilian Labor Force 16 Years and Older	1990 Cuban Americans in Miami-Dade County	1997-2000	
		Cuban Americans in Miami-Dade County	Cuban Americans in Rest of the United States
Managerial and Professional	18.4	21.2	26.4
Technical, Sales, and Administrative Support	35.7	34.4	31.6
Service	12.4	25.3	26.2
Operators, Fabricators, and Handlers (Including Farmers)	33.5	19.1	15.8
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Figures for 1990 come from: Thomas D. Boswell, *Hispanic National Groups in Metropolitan Miami* (Miami: Cuban American National Council, 199), p. 33 and data for 1997-2000 come from U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Surveys*, March, 1997-2000, Washington, D.C., averaged for four years.

Table 15
Nativity, Year of Immigration, and Citizenship Status – Comparisons Between Cuban Americans Living in Miami-Dade County in 1990 and 1997-2000 and Cuban Americans Living in the Rest of the United States 1997-2000 (Percentages)

Characteristics	1990 Cuban Americans in Miami-Dade County	1997-2000	
		Cuban Americans in Miami-Dade County	Cuban Americans in Rest of the United States
Born in United States	19.9	24.7	41.1
Foreign Born (for Puerto Ricans, % born in Puerto Rico)	80.2	75.3	58.9
Periods of Immigration for Foreign Born (or Puerto Rican Born)			
1990-2000	NA	28.6	17.9
1980-1989	29.3	19.9	15.7
1970-1979	18.4	12.8	16.8
1960-1969	45.3	34.5	38.7
1950-1959	5.6	3.3	8.1
Before 1950	1.4	.9	2.8
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0
Citizenship Status of Foreign Born			
Foreign Born, U.S. Citizen by Naturalization	45.6	51.3	65.3
Foreign Born, Not U.S. Citizen	54.4	48.7	34.7
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0

*The figures for the 1990 to 2000 period are under-estimates of the number who actually immigrated during the 1990s because these figures include data from the *Current Population Surveys* for four years, three of which were before 20000 (1997-1999).
NA = Not Applicable
Source: Figures for 1990 come from: Thomas D. Boswell, *Hispanic National Groups in Metropolitan Miami* (Miami: Cuban American National Council, 1995), p. 15 and data for 1997-2000 come from U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Surveys*, March, 1997-2000, Washington, D.C., averaged for four years.

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Table 16
Age and Sex Composition Comparisons Between First Generation (Immigrants) and Second Generation (Foreign born) Cuban Americans United States: 1997-2000

Age Groups (Years)	1997-2000	
	First Generation Cuban Americans (Immigrants - Foreign Born)	Second Generation Cuban Americans (U.S. Born with Cuban Born Parents)*
Less than 10 years	2.0	29.8
10-19 Years	3.8	26.3
20-29 Years	6.2	17.9
30-39 Years	18.5	17.4
40-49 Years	16.8	4.2
50-59 Years	15.8	1.6
60-69 Years	18.0	1.8
70 Years and Older	13.2	.7
Totals	5.8	.3
Mean and Median Ages (Years)		
Means	50.8	20.0
Medians	51.0	17.0
Sex Composition (Percentages)		
Percent Male	48.8	46.9
Percent Female	51.2	53.1

*Persons with father or mother, or both, Cuban born.
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Surveys*, March, 1997-2000, Washington, D.C., averaged for four years.

Table 17
Education and Income Comparisons Between First Generation (Immigrants) and Second Generation (U.S. Born) Cuban Americans United States in 1997-2000

Characteristics	1997-2000	
	First Generation Cuban Americans (Immigrants - Foreign Born)	Second Generation Cuban Americans (U.S. Born with Cuban Born Parents)*
Educational Attainment Levels, Persons 25 Years and Older (Percentages)		
Not a High School Graduate	33.9	5.0
High School Graduate but No B.A.	46.0	52.0
B.A. Degree or Higher	20.1	43.0
Average Personal Incomes (All Persons)		
Means	$19,833	$13,567
Medians	$10,200	$0.0
Average Personal Incomes for Persons Working Full-Time and Year Round		
Means	$36,573	$39,938
Medians	$25,000	$34,250

*Persons with father or mother, or both, Cuban born.
Note: Income figures from the 1990 Census are for 1989.
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Surveys*, March 1997-2000, Washington, D.C., averaged for four years.

Table 18
Occupation Groups and Labor Force Status -- Comparisons Between First Generation (Immigrants) and Second Generation (U.S. Born) Cuban Americans United States: 1997-2000 (Percentages)

Major Occupation Groups for the Civilian Labor Force 16 Years and Older	1997-2000	
	First Generation Cuban-Americans (Immigrants - Foreign Born)	Second Generation Cuban-Americans (U.S. Born with Cuban Born Parents)*
Managerial and Professional	21.2	32.7
Technical, Sales, and Administrative Support	31.3	42.0
Service	27.5	16.9
Operators, Fabricators, and Handlers (Including Farmers)	19.0	8.5
Totals	100.0	100.0

*Persons with father or mother, or both, Cuban.born.
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Surveys*, March, 1997-2000, Washington, D.C., averaged for four years.

Figures

(1-3)

Figure 1
Cuban Americans Living In The United States: 2000

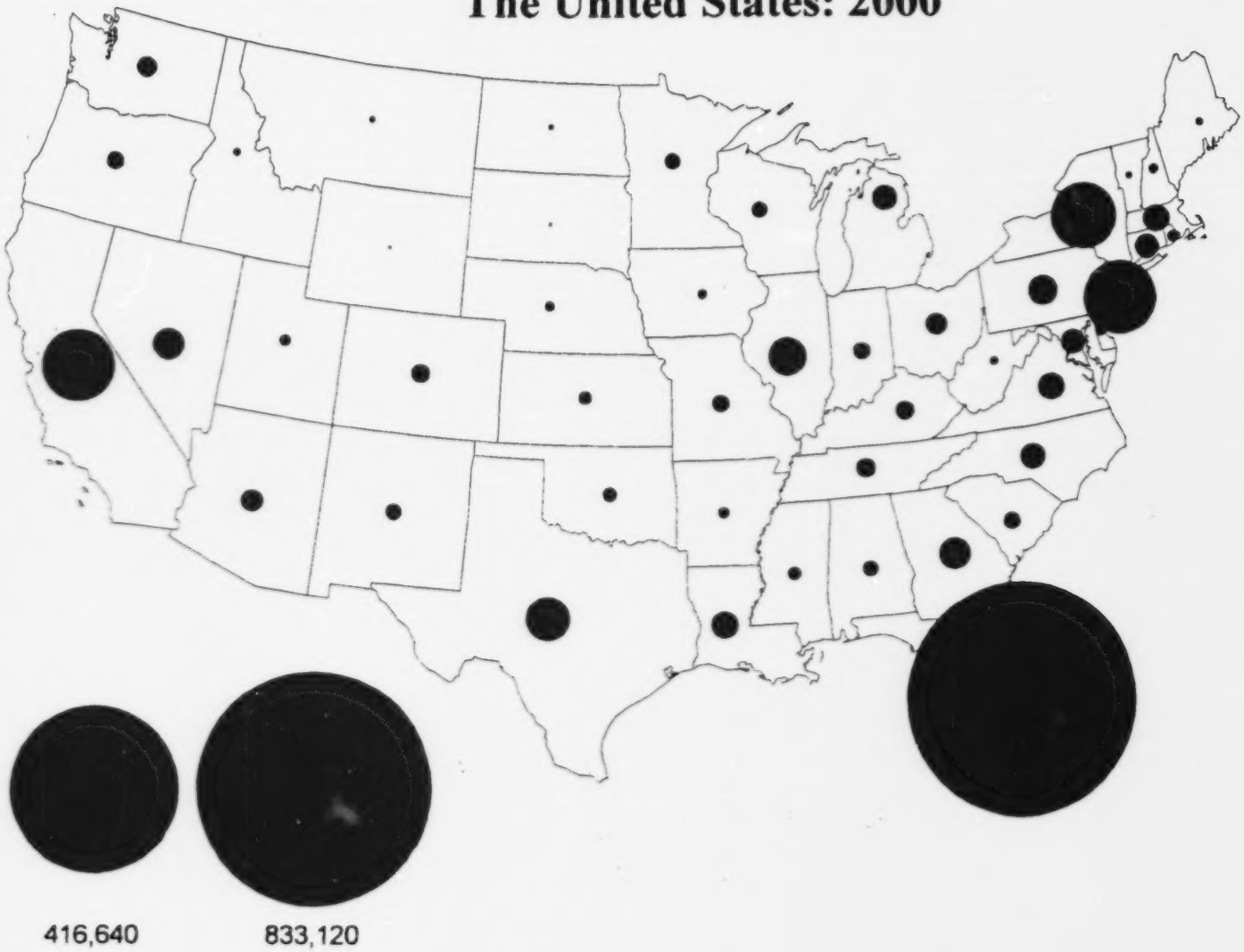


Figure 2
Cuban Americans In Large U.S. Cities: 2000
(Consolidated Metropolitan Statistical Areas)

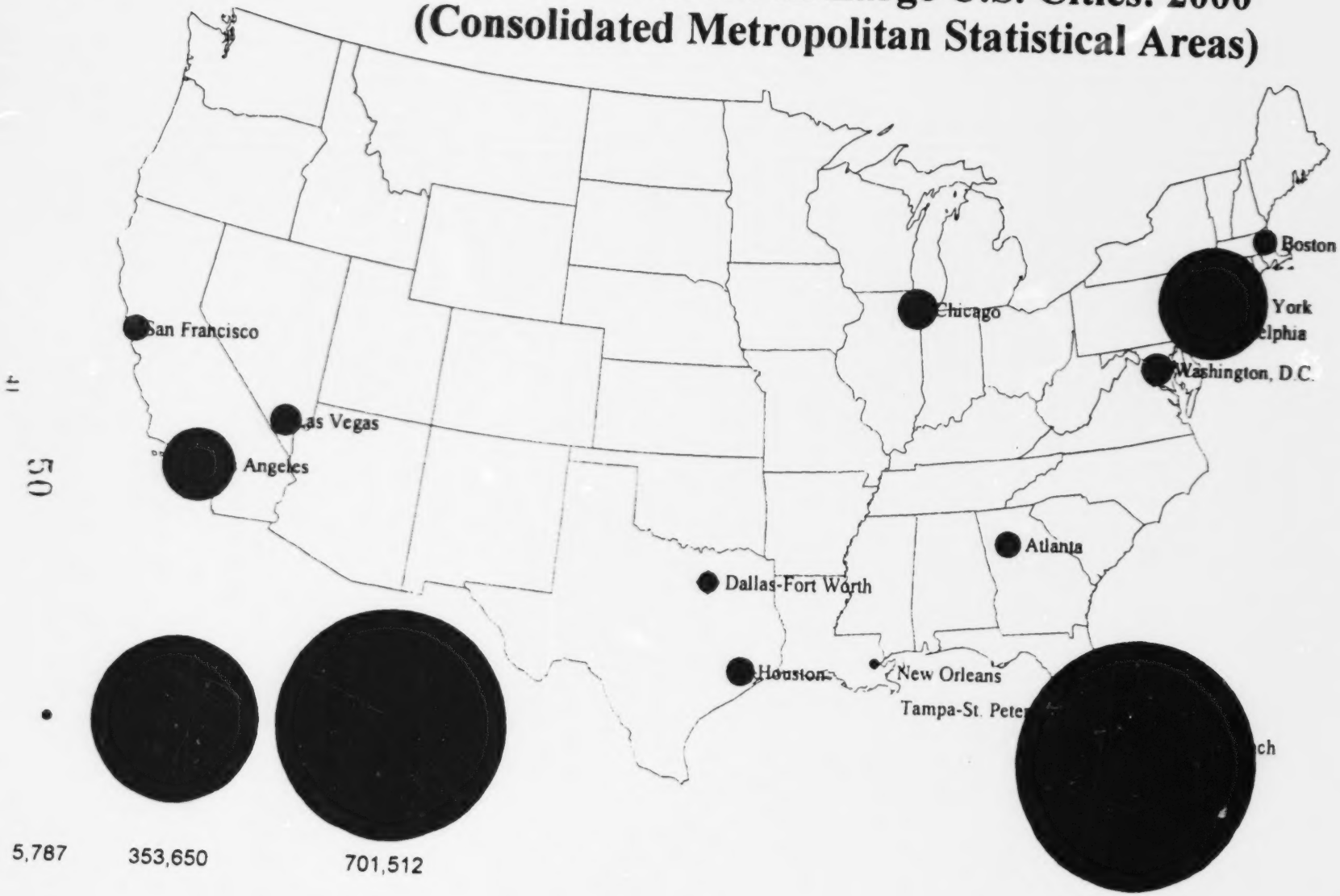
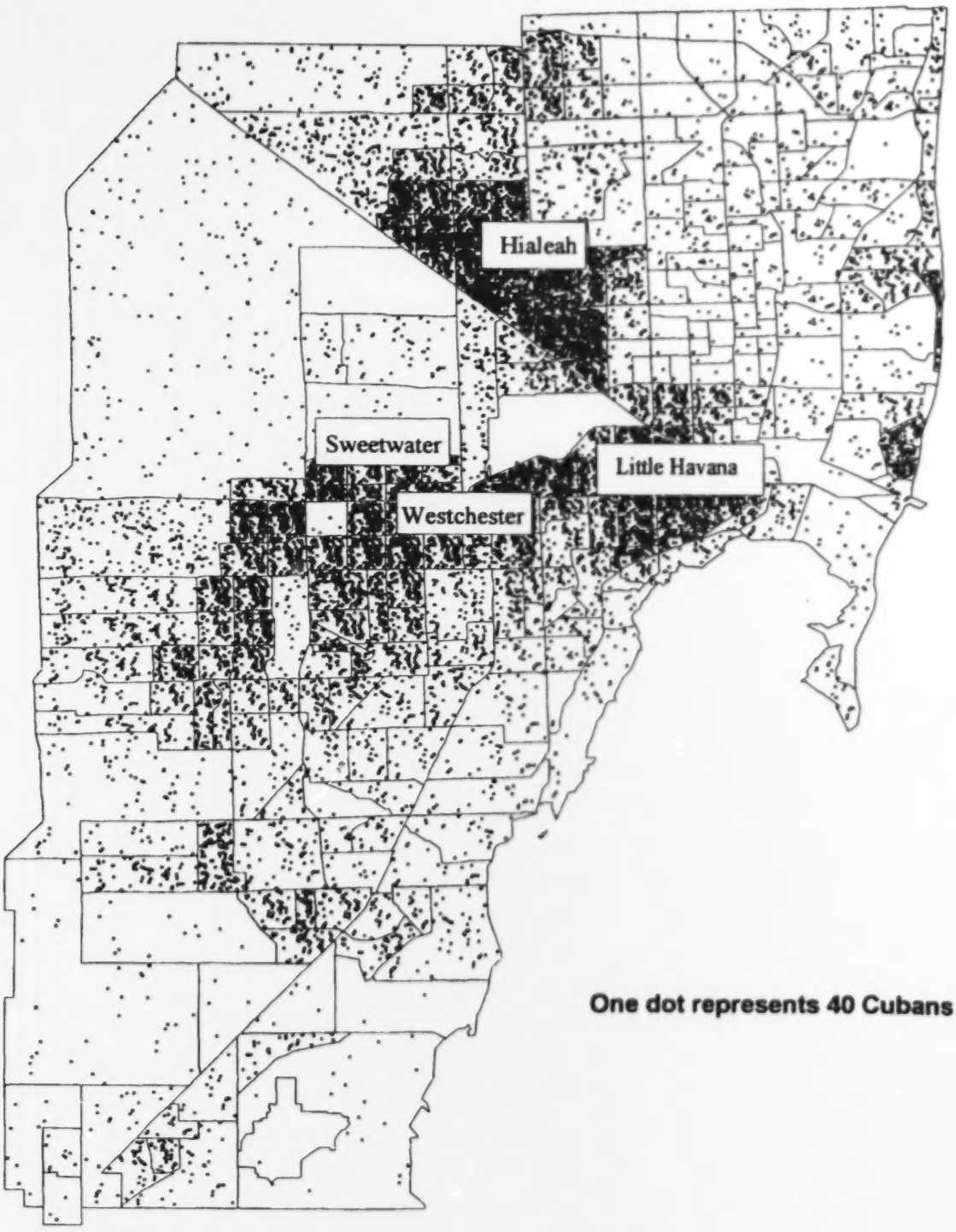


Figure 3
Cubans Living in Miami-Dade County
Census Tracts 2000



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Notes on Methodology

Notes on Methodology

The number of Cubans and their geographic distribution are estimated using data derived from the 1970, 1980, 1990, and *2000 U.S. Censuses of Population and Housing*.[1]

The figures in Table 1 for Dominicans, Central Americans, South Americans, and the "Rest of Hispanics," however, should be used with extreme caution. This is true particularly for the figures for 2000 because there is convincing evidence that the specific national groups of the "Other Hispanic Descent" were badly under-classified during the 2000 Census enumeration. The Hispanic question used in the questionnaire for the *2000 Census of Population* enumeration was significantly different from that used during the 1990 Census. In 1990 people were asked if they considered themselves to be Hispanics. If they answered "yes" they were asked to check boxes for either Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, and Other Hispanic. If they checked the "Other Hispanic" box they were asked to print on a line below the group to which they belonged and several examples were listed in parentheses. Specifically, the instructions were "Print one group, for example, Argentinean, Columbian, Dominican, Nicaraguan, Salvadoran, Spaniard, and so on." In the 2000 Census questionnaire the examples used in the 1990 Census were left out. It is now apparent that a very significant number of the "Other Hispanics" did not understand in the 2000 Census that they were supposed to write the name of the Latin American country from which they came. As a result the number of persons in the Other Hispanic Descent category increased by almost 97 percent (Table 1) between 1990 and 2000. However, the percentage increases indicated for the Dominicans, Central Americans, and South Americans were well below this figure. On the other hand, the "Rest of Hispanics" increased by 223.1 percent! Who were the people included among the "Rest of Hispanics"? Of course they could include some people from Spain, but the vast majority were most likely people from other Latin American countries who misunderstood the question used in the census questionnaire.

There have been three separate studies of the *2000 Census'* misclassification of the "Other Hispanics" by their country of origin.[2] They all agree that there was a significant under classification in the *2000 Census* of the specific nationalities of the "Other Hispanics." They also agree that the number for all Hispanics was probably reasonably accurate and they agree that the

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[1]The precise U.S. Census Bureau sources of these data are shown in the sources listed at the bottoms of Tables 1 through 7.

[2]John R. Logan, "The New Latinos: Who They Are, Where They Are," paper published by the Lewis Mumford Center for Comparative Urban and Regional Research, State University of New York at Albany, September 10, 2001. Available at: www.Albany.edu/Mumford/Census; Elizabeth Martin, "Some Evidence about Questionnaire Effects on Reporting of Specific Hispanic Groups in Census 2000," U.S. Bureau of the Census, October 12, 2001, Washington, D.C.; and Robert Suro, "Counting the 'Other Hispanics': How Many Colombians, Dominicans, Ecuadorians, Guatemalans and Salvadorans Are There in the United States?" Pew Hispanic Center, Pew Charitable Trusts, Washington, D.C., May 9, 2002.

under-enumeration of Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans was not a major problem.[3] The studies by Logan and Suro both provide new estimates of the "Other Hispanic" nationalities in the U.S. and both sets of estimates show that there was an enormous under-enumeration of such groups as the Dominicans, Colombians, Ecuadorans, Nicaraguans, and Hondurans. I believe the Logan estimates (referred to as the "Louis Mumford Center Estimates" in Table 3) are the most accurate because he used more supplementary data sources than Suro and his estimates more closely approximate figures I have calculated using the pooled results from four *Current Population Surveys* for the 1997-2000 period.[4]

The figures calculated by Logan in Table 3 illustrate the magnitude of the 2000 Census under-enumeration of the "Other Hispanic" groups for the United States. The Dominicans appear to have been under-enumerated[5] by about 47 percent. The under-representations of the Central Americans and South Americans are even higher at 70 percent and 60 percent, respectively. On the other hand, the category of "Rest of the Hispanics" was over-classified by 81.3 percent by the Census Bureau because this was the category in which people were placed when they did not indicate a specific country of origin. These are such serious misclassification errors that they provide good reason to question the utility of the *2000 Census* results for determining the characteristics of these "Other Hispanic" nationality groups. Unless it can be assumed that the people left out of these counts represent a random sample of the populations they were designed to represent, little faith can be placed in these figures. Clearly, a study needs to be conducted to check these results from the 2000 Census.

The good news, for purposes of this paper, is that the under-classification of Cubans appears to be minimal, slightly less than six percent. In Tables 4 and 5, I compare the figures for Cubans and the other Hispanic nationality groups in Miami-Dade County using Census figures and estimates provided by Logan. The figures in Table 4 are the ones that will undoubtedly be reported most often for Greater Miami[6] because these are the ones produced by the U.S. Bureau of the Census. However, the estimates in Table 5 are more interesting because they demonstrate how far off the mark the *2000 Census* estimates are for Miami-Dade County. For Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans the estimation errors are less then five percent. For the "Other

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[3]It should be noted that the overall enumeration of the *2000 Census* was the most accurate ever conducted in the United States. Less than one percent of the total U.S. population was missed in this enumeration. "Gov't Must Use Raw Census Numbers," *The New York Times*, October 17, 2001. The problem being discussed in this paper pertains only to the category of "Other Hispanics."

[4]For example, my pooled estimate of Cuban Americans derived from the four *Current Population Surveys* for the 1997-2000 period is 1,306,861, which is very close to Logan's estimate (Table 3) of 1,315,346. My estimate for Dominicans living in the U.S. is 1,014,879, compared to Logan's 1,121,257 and Suro's 912,501.

[5]Technically, the Other Hispanic nationalities were not "under-counted." They were "under-classified." These people were counted,. However, the problem was that they did not indicate their specific country of origin and therefore they were not classified as being from a specific Latin American country.

[6]Miami-Dade County and Greater Miami are being used as synonyms in this paper.

Hispanic" nationalities the errors are much greater. For example, the 2000 Census indicated that the Nicaraguan population in Miami-Dade County declined by nearly seven percent during the 1990s. On the other hand, Logan estimates that the Nicaraguan population actually increased by 37 percent in the 1990s. The reason for this discrepancy between the Census figure and Logan's is because of the problems mentioned earlier with the question about Hispanics on the *2000 Census* questionnaire. According to Logan, the Census Bureau underestimated the number of Nicaraguans living in Miami by 47 percent, or by more than 32,000 people.

The differences in the rankings of the Hispanic nationality groups using the Census figures vs. Logan's estimates are striking (Tables 4 and 5). Using the *2000 Census* numbers, Cubans are followed in rank order by Puerto Ricans, Colombians, Nicaraguans, and Mexicans, respectively. The order of the top five groups using Logan's figures are Cubans, Colombians, Nicaraguans, Puerto Ricans, and Dominicans. Anecdotal evidence suggests that Logan's figures are more accurate than those of the Census Bureau. His figures suggest that Cubans represent almost 53 percent of Miami-Dade's Hispanics, whereas the Census figures suggest a figure closer to 50 percent. According to Logan, the fastest growing (percentage-wise) Hispanic groups during the 1990s were Dominicans, Hondurans, Peruvians, and Colombians, in that order (Table 5).

It should be noted that the figures in Table 11 under-state the number of people who immigrated during the 1990s for the groups of Hispanics shown because the *Current Population Surveys* (*CPS*) used in the sample used for the 1997-2000 figures came from four years, three of which were before 2000 (1997, 1998, and 1999). For example, the 1997 *CPS* includes only people who moved before March 1997. The 1998 *CPS* includes people who moved before March 1998, and so forth. Only the 2000 *CPS* includes people who moved during 2000, but only those who arrived before March 2000, when the *CPS* was conducted. The *2000 Census of Population*, on the other hand, will include all people who moved during the 1990s up to April, 2000 when it was enumerated. As a result, it will show a higher percentage of people who arrived during this period than will the *CPS* samples being used for this paper.

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Dr. Boswell was born and raised in the suburbs of Los Angeles. It was there that he developed his research interest in Hispanic Americans. He has co-authored four books, written several monographs, and is author of numerous articles in both popular and scholarly journals dealing with migration, immigration, ethnic issues, and segregation. Since 1993 he has served as Senior Researcher at the Policy Center of the Cuban American National Council.

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